426,654

/For information on the granting of loans by the Agricultural Bank see category 652./

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tion but because they take pride in making the best of what they have. Most of the meager sums of money they do have are probably sent in from a son who has a job outside the mountains. Government programs of supplying food are also periodically necessary to support these hardy people.

There are two historical factors accounting for the hardiness assigned to the mountain people over the plains dwellers. Before independence, the plainsmen, particularly in Thessaly and Macedonia, were attached to the estates of absentee Turkish landlords and, according to travelers' accounts, lived in tenancy approaching serfdom, despised by the more independent Greeks of the mountains. Further, the plains villagers suffered for centuries from the terrible malaria of the lowlands; drained of vitality, they were probably actually poorer physical specimens than the peasants of the more healthy uplands.

As various features of the peasant's life unfold, particularly in a later discussion of village ways, we can understand even better the differences between the peoples of the mountains and the plains. Nevertheless, we should not forget that as villagers the two groups hold much in common, such as their shared loyalty to their village and their tendency to be distrustful of the "outside world," particularly of the central-government officials in Athens.

The Sea

If mountains and plains are disappointing in the resources they contribute to Greece, then surely, one would think, the sea would more than compensate by providing fish in abundance. As a matter of fact, fish are an important source of protein in the Greek diet, but before the Second World War less than half of the total amount of fish eaten (35,000 to 40,000 metric tons) was caught by Greek fishermen in Greek seas. The rest had to be bought from abroad, often from neighboring countries, out of the country's meager store of foreign exchange.[16] Students of the problem seem to believe that the sea around Greece is rich in fish and that the trouble lies in the failure of the authorities to promote and foster a fishing industry. The many fishing boats destroyed during the war are being replaced, though slowly.

The merchant marine of Greece has been through the years a source of national pride. Here is one way the sea has been put to good advantage. Before World War II Greek ships totaled 1,900,000 tons and included 500 ocean-going vessels and a coastal and Mediterranean fleet of 55 large ships and 733 caiques, or small sailing boats. In 1946 there remained 138 miscellaneous ships totaling 501,000 tons. The sale of 100 liberty ships by the United States government to Greek operators at one fourth of the original cost contributed much to the rebuilding of the Greek merchant marine.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

to graze all over the community area as soon as the harvest is in. If the farmers leave any grain in the fields after harvesting, the sheep seem to think it part of their daily ration and tackle it with delight. The farmers have little recourse, since the sheep owners are elected as community councilmen and officers of the cooperative and are always in a position to defend their interests.

Much the same situation prevails in a village near Agrinion where over seven thousand sheep and over one thousand goats are kept. Recently, some of what was formerly pasture land has been distributed to those without land, through a cooperative association newly formed for that purpose, thus restricting the amount of grazing area. These new owners, as well as others without livestock, resent the invasion of their fields by the flocks immediately after harvest. Little control can be exercised unless shepherds so desire, for none of the parcels are fenced off and it is customary to let the animals roam at will when crops are in.

The nomarch of Serrai stated that in his area of Macedonia it was very common for the whole community to rise up in protest against the pasturing of the flocks by shepherds on land belonging to the community. The shepherds insist that they will continue to use these lands; so the villagers come to the nomarch and ask whether or not they must let those so-and-sos graze sheep on their land. The nomarch assures them that they are within their rights to keep the shepherds off, and they leave the office with a determined look, as though no number of shepherds could budge them from their resolve. When these local leaders get back home, some shepherd comes up to them and says: "My sheep will die, my family will die if you don't let me use that land." The people then change their minds and give the shepherd permission to graze his flocks there. Later on, when they see the nomarch and he asks them what happened, they say: "Poor man, we couldn't let him starve, so we let the sheep graze there." But such disputes do not always end so amicably.

Another source of conflict is the lowly goat. The parties to the conflict are not peasants arguing it out with one another, but rather the forest service trying to forbid the peasants from keeping goats. During the dictatorship of General Metaxas (1936–1941), a law was passed and enforced which forbade the peasants from keeping goats. The justification for this measure is that goats, a browsing animal, do much more damage to the forests than do sheep, a grazing animal. In the case of a pastoral village in Western Macedonia, not far from Kastoria, the prewar number of eight thousand sheep and goats shrank during the conflict because of requisition by the guerrillas, army of occupation, and such, to seven hundred and fifty. In order to rebuild livestock numbers quickly as a means of eking out a living, the people got together flocks of goats. The Agricultural Office has supported them in this, while the Forestry Office opposes the idea. The

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

peasants argued to the foresters: "Ten communities in this area formerly made their living from goats and prospered; we know of no village which has made its living solely off forest products. We prefer the goats."

Then, as though to clinch their arguments, they pointed out that they must stable their goats for only forty days during a year, but their sheep, which cannot browse, need to be stabled and fed at home for one hundred and fifty days a year. To the peasants this is obviously an advantage; to the forestry program it is just as obviously a menace. The result: impasse.

The same question is being raised all over the country in villages as far apart as some on the Bulgarian border in Central Macedonia and others around Amphissa in Roumele. From the standpoint of these villagers the goat is the answer, but the central government seems to be backing the Forestry Office. Some commentators on the issue point out that the peasant's practice of setting fires to burn over land or accidentally starting fires through carelessness is perhaps as big an enemy to trees as the goat. It will be interesting a generation from now to see who has won out in these isolated mountainous outposts of Greece. (My bet is on the goat.)

A final contrast will reveal the complexity of small-livestock production in a country as regionally diverse as Greece. Many villages could be cited which twenty-five years ago possessed twenty thousand sheep or more. With the passing of the years, the numbers declined because of the gradual shrinkage of available pasture area. While sheep are still raised in these communities today, they are being further reduced and turned into "home flocks" fed in or near the village throughout the year. But a reverse process has also been in motion since 1950. In tobacco villages around Xanthe, in Thrace, sheep raising is being pushed by the agricultural authorities and loans are being extended by the Agricultural Bank — all to serve the double purpose of giving the depressed tobacco farmer some supplementary income and also to take advantage of unutilized pasture land in that part of the country.

This illustrates the fact that sheep (and goats) still are the best and at times the only sound economic adjustment to some of the terrain areas of Greece; almost everywhere they are good supplementary means of adjustment. There will probably be a stepped-up trend toward pasture improvement, which means that pastures — particularly those on the plains — can be made to carry more animals per acre. The day may come when the sheep will be driven in large trucks up to their summer pastures, thus avoiding the days of grazing along the roads of migration, or in many of the agricultural areas dairy cattle may replace sheep as producers of milk. But these developments are still in the future.

Symbolic of what seems to be in store for many shepherds was the quiet, middle-aged man we met in front of a coffeehouse in the refugee village of Menidi, between Agrinion and Arta in Roumele. There along the sea he

1:Sanders Z-5# (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

If he is thinking of buying land, he is apt to follow his own inclinations. The wife's own little private purse consists of money she gets from chickens and milk. She uses this money to meet "gaps in her budget."

Secondly, my informant pointed out, the wife is very influential with her husband when he is selecting a mate for the children. The father must give the official approval and the village looks to him, but the mother is the one who influences him. Rarely will the mother betray a naughty child to the man of the house, for she thinks the man might beat him too hard. She might refer discipline to the father if the child is fourteen or over or if he gets out of hand. In other words, children are threatened with the father. If the mother is the pillar of the house and the father considered weak, then the children protect the mother. If the mother is "no good," then everything is referred to and channeled to the father. In fact, a wife is called "no good" or "an animal" if she does not darn properly, sew all the clothes of the family, be economical with food, have meals ready when the others return from the field, or keep the house tidy.

Two home economists who had worked extensively in the villages of Northern and Central Greece reaffirmed that "the man is really the boss, not just in appearance but in practice": "When we want the girls to come to take lessons in home economics the girls say, 'My father won't let me.' But woman is the unknown heroine. Besides carrying all of the load she is also involved in major decisions. If the man tells his wife to go to the field to work and she refuses, they may quarrel, but if she has a reason he won't insist. Eggs and poultry are her responsibility and she can have her own money to get what she wants — such as shoes. In the everyday life of the children, the woman has the upper hand, but in decisions such as sending a son to the university the man will decide."

These two home economists made the further observation that the "married couple will quarrel if the man drinks too much, but the woman is inclined to keep her problems to herself and will not go home to her parents if she feels imposed upon. In general, romance in the Western sense does not exist, but there is a feeling of attachment and understanding. A good analogy is that between a senior and junior partner in some major undertaking."

One villager from Central Greece, a secretary of his local community council, summed up the status of woman by saying, "in the home the woman has the veto power."

There are several interpretations that might be placed on the seeming dominance of the man in Greek society. I could always arouse spirited discussion in any coffeehouse when I suggested that women were really the dominant force, that they had learned that their security lay in letting the men feel very important while the women went through the motions of showing respect to them. Actually, so this argument runs, women have made

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the men more and more dependent upon them so that a woman has to be relied upon for almost everything that occurs around the farm and in the home. Since the man is much more dependent upon the woman than she on him, the woman is actually dominant. She may refuse or accede to her husband's sexual advances. Proof of man's dependence and of woman's contentment with the status quo is shown, one might argue, in the fact that many of the village women, as much as, if not more than men, have resisted any effort to shift their present status. Most men maintained, however, that this argument, though clever, was not really true and that they had the responsibility for giving orders around the house. Some also pointed out that the new farm machinery was making the man less dependent upon the women in the fields.

Many Greeks look upon the subordinate position of women as archaic, behind the times, and ill adapted to the Western country that is the cradle of democratic traditions. A cotton merchant from Athens, who traveled all over Greece, noted that the conventions are changing and that "women are much more free nowadays and not so much put aside. Formerly they would serve the men and not be allowed to sit with them." He attributes this betterment of woman's lot "to education and to the war which has allowed contact with other nations. In the old days the woman was not allowed to work outside her home and was considered 'fast' if she did; nowadays there are thousands of women working in industry. That gives them a financial independence, which is why the women in the small towns are much better dressed than they used to be."

A further conditioning factor in the shifting status of women is the influence of the Asia Minor refugees of the 1920s, which has already been mentioned. Many of these refugees brought with them a family pattern where the wife had much more initiative and participated more fully in family decisions. This contrasts with many of the families native to Greece, where the women are more restricted and are reluctant to express an opinion if the husband is present.

The nomarch of Thessalonike emphasized the differences in the two population groups, pointing out the greater freedom of the refugee woman. He also characterized her as warmer and more sensual. He brought out the fact, reinforced by home economists from Northern Greece as well as from Attica, that the home-economics programs succeed better among the refugee villages where the woman is able to dispose of her time as she likes, without permission from her husband. He even characterized the refugee village as a gynecocracy, since those men will consult their wives before selling anything, whereas the autocratic men of the nonrefugee village might consider that beneath their dignity. Such men in Chalkidike (Macedonia) even go so far as to send their wives to make a request of the nomarch, particularly when they do not expect the nomarch to act favorably, for it

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tice in particular the heavy concentration on cereals in the Greek diet in comparison with the more even distribution among other food groups in the American diet. The small proportion obtained from dairy products brings to mind a conversation with an official from Northern Greece, who noted that in a village near Kozane the cows were "about the size of goats," so small and unproductive were they. He told his secretary to arrange to have a good bull sent to the village to improve the stock and to announce to the people what he was about to do. But the women asked why.

"To give you bigger animals to work and to give you more milk."

"What will we do with the milk?"

"Drink it."

"Whoever heard of drinking cow's milk?"

There was no objection, of course, to drinking goat's or sheep's milk. This official went back to the director of agriculture for his region and said, "You hang a stone around your neck, and I'll hang one around mine. We've been here this long and haven't yet taught the people that they can drink cow's milk."

Thus food is more than a statistical table. We learn what is locally important when we hear a Greek village girl tell about the kind of food she has at home:

> Throughout the year we eat bread, which is coarse, a little darker, and tastes much better than the bread in Athens. It is made of wheat flour from the grain grown by each family and milled in one of the seven watermills near the village. As a milling charge the miller will keep about one sixth. The flour is stored in a wooden box at home. When we make bread we mix the dough in a pottery bowl. At first, we may need to borrow or buy yeast from another family but then keep a little yeast for next time. We bake once a week in an outdoor oven; in the winter, if the weather is very bad, we use a little oven in the house. The outdoor oven is made of brick and is round. After we have built a fire from branches and gotten the oven very hot, we push the coals to the side and put the round loaves in between so that they will absorb the heat from the oven and the coals. We may also cook cakes or sweets in the oven.
>
> Our people want bread all of the time when they are eating. We eat cornbread only in case of emergency. We eat potatoes more than rice, usually serving the potatoes in a stew of meat and red sauce.
>
> We eat much [notice her definition of "much"] meat, especially pork because we feed a pig until it reaches a hundred okas; we kill it, cut it up, and put the meat in receptacles after salting it. The pig is butchered around March and its meat lasts us for about a year, if we use some of it about twice a week. We eat more chicken than lamb; we don't use beef.
>
> We eat a bean stew about three times a week except in the summer, at which time we eat green beans. We eat many vegetables and fruits in season. We dry figs for use during the year.
>
> The daughter-in-law does most of the cooking and is apt to favor her father-in-law's appetite.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

462
241
178

have not reached. They also help in the gathering of olives, grapes, and many other products requiring patient labor.

464
854
855
369
654
491
242

The woman is increasingly being viewed today as a supplementary source of labor in the fields, to be employed only when the need is urgent, although regional variations are still important. When she does go to the field, she may take the baby and the small children along and care for them as she works. Various explanations are offered for this lightening of field labor by women. Today, more of the village women have seen how the city women live and have resolved to put city ways into practice in their homes and villages. Furthermore, men seem to be showing more interest in their farms due to the help the government is giving in providing fruit trees, opening up of farm-to-market roads, and helping the peasant participate more actively in the national economy. Agricultural and home-economics extension workers, who now visit the majority of villages, not only tell the men that it is their job to do the field work, but they also show the men better methods for reducing the work load. Where tractors exist, the woman is relieved of much field work and can occupy herself with other tasks. She works more on her loom, takes care of her children, and cleans her house. She also has more time for gardening on a plot fairly close to the house. One recognizes the need for this in a place such as Ioannina (Epirus) where peasants in the outlying villages, with plenty of land near their house, buy at the city market vegetables which they could have grown at home if the women had had sufficient time.

438

Keeping the Family Well

758
462
574
511
369

Work, however, is not the only responsibility of a Greek housewife. Any ailing person becomes the immediate concern of the mother or the mother-in-law, with the older woman usually considered wiser in the mysteries of folk medicine. The patient also becomes the concern of the neighbors for, as one man put it, "when somebody gets sick, everybody goes to visit him and to look after him." For quite understandable reasons, the living standards of rural Greece are far below those found in Athens or in most countries of the West. Consequently, health practices, many of them surrounded with superstitions, are the outgrowth of the experience of people who for centuries have faced pain, illness, and death without the benefits of the accumulated medical discoveries of the modern world.

753

Indeed, for much illness the peasant has a supernatural rather than a scientific explanation. As one writer has put it:

755
757
776

> The whole of popular medicine is based upon the knowledge of charms and incantations. Many simples and drugs are of course known and employed; but it is still generally believed, as it was in the old time, that "there would be no good in the herb without the incantation." For the most ordinary diseases are

1:Sanders Z-5# (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

474 [652] get a cooperativ, we will have to wait a year to get a loan approved, and by that time we wil have no need for the money." They thought that from 12 to 14 percent would be the customary interest charges set by the cooperative and the Bank and also assumed that security requirements would be very high.

[249] [664] [124] Peasants in the tobacco-growing areas in Northern Greece appreciated the fact that cooperatives there tried to introduce mechanization and also, from time to tine, did some lobbying in their behalf. When in 1953 we asked the commandant of gendarmerie for Volos, who was in close touch with the villagers, about their views toward cooperatives he replied: "With the occupation and the war the cooperative conscience more or less disappeared. Now it is reviving and if things go normally there will be quick improvement. One reason for the difficulty is the effort by the government to mix politics in wth the cooperative movement. Now the cooperatives undertake no teachingfunction. They did this before the war, which partially explained what success they achieved. Before the war, if a person wanted to be on the counci of the cooperative, he had to go through special training. [654] The authorities ay that they will do this again, but the Ministry of Agriculture is centering its teaching approach in the newly formed Agro Clubs."

He thought tlat in his area about 60 percent of the cooperatives were working and thit 40 percent were either anemic or altogether defunct. [241] [652] Around Volos the producers' and marketing cooperatives organized on a commodity basis— vegetables, dairy, fruit, olives — worked better than the general-purpose or purely credit type. Very often, he pointed out, the relationship betweet the local cooperative and the representatives of the Agricultural Bank is strained, for the local council will give inaccurate information to the Bank saying that a would-be borrower has twelve acres of land when he really has only five.

474 178 [621] One of the most interesting examples of the blending of traditional and modern mutual-aid practices was found in Kalivi, a village of about 2500 in Attica. This village owned some pasture land. In 1914 it formed a committee which took charge of the management of this community land, deriving revenues for the community. In 1920 there was talk of organizing a cooperative, but it did not really get under way until 1926, at which time the village pasture land was turned over to the cooperative which superseded the former committee. Thus, the transition from the older social form [652] to the cooperative went smoothly. The Agricultural Bank had helped the local people decide what was the best kind of cooperative organization for their purposes. They decided that membership should be compulsory for all family heads. In 1928 the cooperative acquired a threshing machine with [243] the funds obtained from the pasture land. This machine as well as newer ones were in use when I visited the village near the middle of June 1953. [293] [751] Organized pandemonium seemed to reign as new loads of wheat sheaves

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

answer than that the farmers were incited by the Rally Party. As if there were any need of incitement in their case. One does not need incitement when one is hungry and sentenced to despair.[18]

The year does not matter, the name of the party does not matter, for in Greece a political, if not a social, gulf between the village and the city remains. Since 1952, as a later chapter will show, much has been done through the Agricultural Extension Service and other programs to better the condition of the peasantry. The success of such programs inevitably depends upon the skills and attitudes of those trying to carry them out in the name of the central government, but even more depends on the stability and continuity of the central government so that measures which are under way are not canceled and other political adventures substituted instead.

A peasant or a village president has three ways of straightening out some grievance involving the national government. First, he and his fellows can resort to strikes, demonstrations, and — in the case of the guerrilla war — to the support of those who would change the situation by revolution. Second, he can work through the regular administrative or executive channels already described. Through his local president and through the nomarch, many affairs can be carried to those in a position to settle the grievance, or in some cases he may take the time and trouble himself to go to some responsible official in the appropriate ministry for help. In other words, he is trying to find his way through the administrative apparatus of government and to use it to accomplish some objective. A third approach is to work through the political or legislative rather than the administrative channel. This means going to the representative from his district who serves in the national unicameral legislature in an effort to persuade him to intercede with the proper administrative officials. It might also mean going to some political leader, a former minister perhaps, to see if he can use his good graces in the matter.

Enough has been said thus far about Greek officialdom to show some of the difficulties that a villager, as an individual or as a community president, would face in making use of the administrative channels. Are the political outlets any more promising?

I once asked a peasant about a solidly constructed bridge we were then crossing. He said that it was obtained because one of their local people had been a member of parliament and had arranged to have this built. I wondered how long it would be before they had another member of parliament and thereby received some other needed project. And a mayor of one of the Thracian towns confided that he preferred the politically appointed nomarch to the career nomarch because one could go to the members of parliament and have them get an inefficient politically appointed nomarch

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

the economic level of doctors or large storekeepers. Now this factor has diminished considerably concerning tobacco producers and has also affected smaller storekeepers, allowing less chance for them to expand their enterprises.[4]

He concludes that the ends of the "social pyramid became closer and it is difficult to separate the second from the third class, while the upper class became smaller." Land ownership and money, two factors which were stressed before the war, are no longer very important, for a peasant can rent a field quite inexpensively. With the prices of tobacco as low as they are, land is not in as great demand.

Village Organizations

Almost every village today has one or more clubs or associations which have been promoted by governmental officials and people from the city in an effort to effect some change in the rural way of life. Most of these organizations appear to be well intentioned and are accepted as such by the local people, but this does not mean that the peasants become eager joiners or loyal members. Other village groups have much deeper local roots: mutual-aid groups and the cooperatives; the church board, the school board, and the community council. In many villages I inquired about the formally organized groups. Three widely scattered communities listed a variety of associations, some of which will be described more fully below:

Ano Kleitoria (Peloponnesos): community council, church board, school board, and Friends of the Forest.

Kalivi (Attica): the regular boards, five cooperatives, agro club, hunting club, home-economics club.

Polygyros (Chalkidike, Macedonia): the regular boards, two cooperatives (agricultural, apiary), boy scouts, lawyers' union, athletic club, professional union, medical union, olive-oil union, woman's philanthropic group.

One widespread and rapidly growing organization is the Rural Youth Club, which is modeled on the 4-H Club in the United States and promoted and supervised by the Extension Service of the Greek Ministry of Agriculture. Each member carries out an agricultural project, and together they operate a field owned by the club. In the Macedonian village referred to they also operate the village library located in the community building. They meet once a week to listen to a lecture, which is followed by recreational activities.

The women, too, have their own club. It is the home club or home-economics club similar to the Home Demonstration Club in the United States. It includes farm and nonfarm women, young and old. When field work is slack, the members attend classes in canning, sewing, and cooking, several times a month. The home agent helps them acquire knowledge and skill through lectures, demonstrations, and group participation. Often the club has its own workship and kitchen.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tional director, H. B. Allen, in his book *Come Over Into Macedonia*. This program also trained Greek personnel, who were later to play important roles in the rural rehabilitation of Greece. With the coming in, under the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan, of the American Mission to Greece, staffed and financed to deal with rural problems on a tremendous scale, the Near East Foundation decided about 1953 to end its Greek program in order to concentrate on assisting Near Eastern countries not receiving the support which was being officially extended to Greece by the American government. But one of its final achievements was the elementary, but nevertheless very useful, series of village studies conducted by its staff, to which frequent mention has been made in this book. The Near East Foundation was also instrumental in bringing the first Fulbright professor to Greece — Howard W. Beers, who taught the first courses in rural sociology to be given in Greece (at the Superior School for Agriculture, Athens) and who initiated the village studies just mentioned.

Several references have also been made to the American Farm School of Salonica, which celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1955. Founded by Reverend John Henry House, and continued by his son, Charles, and daughter-in-law, Ann, the school has been a vital force in the improvement of agriculture in many sections of Northern Greece. Bruce Lansdale, who succeeded Charles House as director, is also seeing to it that the school, through a community-development program, extends its influence even more directly to the villages. One of its activities is to offer short courses for groups of village leaders — priests, community presidents, and others — who come in to discuss how they can improve life in their communities.

Before World War II, the cooperative movement — described in Chapter 10 — sought to raise the economic conditions of the villages. The Food and Agriculture Organization Mission, viewing the prewar record of the cooperatives, cited in its 1946 report that these organizations had pioneered in the development of bucket pumps, tobacco water-storage tanks, and, through financial aid, the development of improved farm practices. Also, the national government had agricultural specialists who advised villagers on farm problems, but the success of these individuals was minimal as compared to postwar developments.

A survey of prewar programs of planned change, therefore, would indicate that either they reached only special areas where pioneering measures were being tried by private agencies or that they covered the country generally but relatively ineffectively through cooperatives and officials of the Ministry of Agriculture. This is not to imply that rural Greece was static during this period; only that it was not yet receiving the impact of planned change that was to characterize the years following World War II.

In turning to these postwar efforts, a selection has to be made from a wide variety of endeavors. The United Nations, for instance, helped in sev-

1:Sanders Z-514 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

177 464 653 eral ways, and one of the most interesting impacts this body made upon the villages was the program promoted by one of their officials, Glen Leet. It was termed *pronoia dia tes ergassias*, often translated "welfare through employment," which made it possible for villagers to work on some useful community project and be paid minimal wages for their labor. This not only brought some much-needed cash into poor areas but resulted also in actual physical accomplishments which people could see and in which they could take pride. This program, of course, was supplementary to the customary "voluntary" or unpaid labor (*prosopike ergassia*), usually ten days, which able-bodied villagers are supposed to contribute to the community upon call of the community council.[8]

177 207 491 Mention has already been made of a few efforts of the American Mission to Greece — whether called Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA), Mutual Security Administration (MSA), Foreign Operations Administration (FOA), or International Cooperation Administration (ICA). One of these was the attempt to set up radio receiving sets in the most isolated Greek villages so the people there would feel in touch with the outside world; another was the vast road-building program which has left its mark not only upon the Greek countryside but upon the Greek social structure as well. Physical isolation has been broken down on a scale not dreamed possible in the prewar years.

177 178 [241] [654] The American Mission is also largely responsible for the speeded-up mechanization occurring in Greek agriculture in the 1950s. The same holds true for greatly expanded drainage and irrigation projects which increased the production of cotton and rice. To credit the American Mission with these and other developments does not reflect upon Greek ingenuity and desire for progress, for all of these programs were carried out by Greeks and through Greek agencies, but the outside financial and technical assistance had to be present for any large-scale success. A sober evaluation of American aid to Greece is found in a book by that title, written by A. A. Munkman, who was chief of Audits and Surveys of the United States Economic Mission to Greece.[9] While citing the positive achievements, he also inquires into how the two billion dollars supplied could have been better used for the benefit of the Greek people. He deals none too gently with some of the administrative weaknesses and concludes pessimistically that Western influence is steadily losing ground, because the ordinary Greek peasant or worker feels that it promises far more than it fulfills. This goes back, he thinks, to the fact that public opinion is poorly informed about the mechanics of aid.

Without necessarily taking issue with Munkman's conclusion, it is important to point out that, by their very nature, programs of planned change invariably raise peasant expectations beyond the sponsors' ability to satisfy. This need not be a negative fact if the dissatisfaction can be channeled into

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

increased economic activity and not become a disturbing political force. A further fact is the peasant's chronic tendency to assume that he is not getting a square deal, or everything that is due him, because throughout his memory and that of his forebears he has been used to what he considers exploitation by a government or those from the city who would take advantage of him. No aid program can ever create a contented peasantry. Yet it is fair to ask what is being done in Greece today to help the individual villager solve the problems of immediate interest to him. The brightest hope, and one recognized by Munkman, is the creation of the Agricultural Extension Service, so organized as to take advantage of the long American experience in this field, the lessons learned by the Near East Foundation in Greece, and the application by dedicated Greeks of these lessons to contemporary conditions. A comparison between what is now available to the farmer and what was available before the war shows a tremendous gain in his behalf. To be sure, the peasant does not apply all that he is taught by the extension worker, and now and then administrative decrees (such as cutting from the budget the transportation item) limit the effectiveness of the extension worker. But in every part of Greece trained personnel are visiting the villagers and, as never before, showing an interest in their welfare and helping them think through their economic problems. Home-economics workers, working with the farm women, are also making considerable headway.

When I investigated social changes occurring between 1952-53 and 1959, those whose knowledge of Greek village life I have found to be most accurate said, "Certainly the greatest change you will find is the development of the agricultural-extension program and the service it is rendering." In other words, the central government is sending "change agents" [10] throughout Greece to help initiate improvements in farming and homemaking, and it is not waiting for the peasants to journey to Athens for answers to their problems. There are limits to what any professional staff can do, but to the extent that these extension workers, both men and women, receive necessary support, to that extent one will find rapid change in the countryside.

Mention has already been made, in Chapter 15, of the organizations being set up in Greek villages by the extension service as well as by the Queen's Fund. This fund concentrates primarily upon Northern Greece and through its village welfare centers seeks to raise the educational, cultural, and economic level of the villages. The King's Fund is interested in the villager. In September 1959 I visited near Athens the handsome Community Development Training Center, financed by this fund, where I met with a group of about fifty teachers who had been invited there, with all expenses paid, to study how teachers can be agents of community improvement. When I joined the group, they were listening to a lecture on scientific beekeeping so that they could talk intelligently on this subject to their pupils and the pupils' parents.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

hered to. Vasilika is a settlement in which there is some grumbling about, and some disregard of, the formal requirements of the Church as an institution; but God Himself, *"O papus apano,"* "the grandfather above," as He is sometimes affectionately called, is felt to be close, real, and not wholly inscrutable. He is an omnipresent force in the lives of men. Such phrases as *"Echi o theos,"* "God has (the wherewithal to provide)," fall easily from the villagers' lips as does the attribution to God, rather than to nature as an abstraction, of common physical phenomena: *"Vrechi o theos,"* "God is raining." The magical and spiritual protection which is available for children, then, continues to be available to adults but is considered less necessary and takes on a more formal religious guise.

Adult-Child Relationships

Let us return now to some of the strains that children are under. There are, of course, the ordinary physical hazards of life in a village like Vasilika. Children are kept from getting too close to the fires, to the oven, to other peoples' dogs; they are protected from the harsh effects of the weather. In addition, however, there are the hazards created by the behavior of other human beings. A woman suckling her infant, for example, may let the baby almost start to suck, then pull herself away, then let the child start again, then pull herself away. She may repeat these actions three or four times, talking and laughing as she does so, finally permiting the baby to suckle contentedly only after it has exhibited some discomfort by whimpering or squirming within its swaddling bands.

Such action is the beginning of a long series of similar teasing incidents in early childhood, sometimes connected with food, sometimes with other matters. A father of a two-year-old boy may call him over to have some of the sweet preserve that is being served to guests. The child runs eagerly to his father's knee. The father touches the spoonful of sweet to the child's mouth and as the boy opens his mouth to take the food, the father snatches the spoon away. He may repeat this several times until the child starts to cry. Then he lets the child eat, and hugs and pats him telling him he is a good boy.

In a different kind of situation, several boys of eighteen or nineteen encouraged the three-year-old brother of one of them to start a physical fight with his equally small cousin. The older boys shouted encouragement and made them intensify the pummelling of each other to the point where the children were knocking each other down and bruising themselves on the stones and rough earth of the yard. The little boys started to cry; the older boys laughed and then, still laughing, took the children into their arms and hugged and kissed them, calling them by endearing names. On one occasion, when a government agricultural extension agent was in the village injecting chickens against Newcastle's disease, a father lifted his little two-year-old son into the air, turned him upside down with the child's back facing the agent, and laughingly told

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959):863 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

the child that he would have the agent inject him just as if he were a chicken. The child started to cry, and after two or three minutes, his father righted the child and comforted him.

Sometimes adults use similar methods to discipline a child. On one occasion, a group of women were discussing the coming Easter festivities, and the two-year-old niece of one of them kept climbing on and off her aunt's lap. The child was told several times to sit still but ignored the request. Finally, her aunt laid the child on its back across her knees and laughingly told her they would kill her like the Easter lamb. The woman ran the edge of her hand over the child's throat to demonstrate the slitting of the lamb's throat. The others laughed and added vivid details. The child's eyes showed panic; she struggled up out of her aunt's lap and sat quietly on a stool for about fifteen minutes until they both left. We heard the aunt speaking gently and endearingly to the child as they departed.

As the foregoing examples indicate, when adults deliberately frighten children or even stimulate milder forms of distress, they do not abandon the child to his misery but try to relieve the anxiety by physical affection and soothing words. In spite of this, however, a three-year-old child will often try to hit a parent or elder brother or sister who is causing distress. He is laughed at for his futile efforts by those watching the scene. Four- and five-year-old children respond to the teasing by walking away or by maintaining stolid expressions. Once they do this, the severity and frequency of the teasing by elders decreases, and the pattern continues mostly among the children themselves in their relations with each other. Practical jokes continue on into adolescence. From the adults' point of view, the teasing is no longer amusing or valuable for discipline because the child has gained enough knowledge, enough intelligence to know that the process is a kind of game and has acquired the skill with which to handle his side of it. Mentally retarded individuals never learn, and they are baited and teased for the amusement of the watchers all their lives. From the child's point of view, the constant reassurance he receives after the pain may teach him that there is no real or permanent danger in the adult actions except that of ridicule, and that is what he learns to try to avoid.

Just as the teasing leads to a recognition that other people's actions and words should not be taken at face value, so does another common pattern of dealing with children—the pattern of deliberately lying to them. Usually, parents or older brothers and sisters lie to a child to get him to do what he does not want to do. For example, a three-year-old child may be asked to go into another room to fetch something. The child does not respond to several requests; his mother then tells him his father is in the other room and will give him candy if he goes. The child thinks he remembers that his father left for the fields early in the morning, and therefore is not likely to be in the next room; he makes a comment to this effect; his mother seriously reassures him that his father is really in the next room; he becomes uncertain and, finally, cautiously goes to the door, opens it slowly and looks inside. At this point his mother and anyone else around laugh at his look of chagrin.

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

As one would expect in any small community whose members are acquainted from childhood, the effectiveness of formal leadership depends very much upon the personalities of the office holders. In some villages, the president and secretary have little real importance. As a minimum, they must keep records to allow the army to draft the young men when their age group is called up, and it is their duty to muster the able-bodied villagers for a fixed number of days' labor on roads or other public works when ordered to do so by officials of the central government. This labor service is the only form of direct taxation now enforced upon peasants, and money payment may be substituted for personal service if anyone cares to do so.

Only when a village chooses to undertake local improvements requiring money or supplies from outside sources does the sphere of local government expand from this legal minimum. In such cases, the village president, perhaps assisted by some other members of the council, is expected to represent the village in all dealings with the agents of the central government from whom help is sought; and if the village contracts a corporate loan for some project, then the president becomes responsible for collecting the sums needed to repay the loan.

Generally, the villagers of Greece have a deep-seated and not altogether groundless distrust of outsiders, particularly of government representatives, whom they suspect of being more often out to fleece than to help them. Long and persistent persuasion is therefore usually required on the part of government officials to overcome this suspicion, and open the way for technical or other improvements in village life. More often than not, the initiative in bringing about the changes which have come to many villages in the past ten years came from outside the village, from the central government. Only after a start had been made, and the practical advantage of some new crop or technique had been demonstrated on a small scale, did the farmers

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

crowd around for advice, loans, seed and the like, and begin to turn to their local village government for assistance in bringing further improvements to the community.

Let us now turn to specific cases, and see what has happened in six representative villages during the past ten years.

Villages of the Plains

LOFISCOS

Lofiscos is situated in the plain of Thessaly, about half a mile off the main trunk road between Larissa and Volos. This is a region of hot summers and cold winters, for Thessaly is landlocked, surrounded west, east and south by precipitous mountains, and exposed to cold northern winds coming down from the plateau of western Macedonia in winter. It is the best wheat land of Greece, and wheat is the major – indeed almost the sole – crop raised by the villagers of Lofiscos today.

As the visitor approaches the village over a wandering track, deeply rutted by trucks that traverse the soft earth during the muddy months of winter and spring, Lofiscos looks shabby and ill-kempt. Houses are scattered irregularly; little fresh paint is in evidence. The dominant structure near the center of the village is a half-ruined rectangular stone tower that looks like and in fact once was a small fortress.

Before 1881, the year in which Thessaly was annexed to Greece, this building was inhabited by a Turkish pasha, who owned the entire area which now belongs to the villagers of Lofiscos. The ground floor was his granary and stable; in the upper story the great man lived with his harem. Since 1881 the building has been abandoned and allowed to decay slowly. The scattered huts in which the villagers live also survive from Turkish times in almost every case. The inhabitants are the

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Lofiscos

[Villages of the Plains]

While I did not come to know the village well enough to be sure, my impression was that the decisive break-through in 1952 was not a matter of new knowledge or information so much as a change in financial attitudes. That is to say, before 1952 the peasants of Lofiscos looked upon indebtedness with horror. Anyone who went to a bank and of his own free will incurred a debt was, they felt, courting disaster. This was not far from the case in the 1920's and early 1930's when agricultural prices were uncertain, bank interest high, and foreclosure a possibility. In 1956 bank interest was still high – between 7 and 8 per cent for loans to individual farmers – but the price of wheat was fixed ahead of time by the government, and the price of fertilizer had been lowered by government subsidy. As a result, a simple computation could assure the borrower of what he stood to gain. This was what the farmers of Lofiscos learned in 1952. They allowed the Bank's representative to convince them that there were times and circumstances when borrowing was not the first step to perdition, but a sure (or nearly sure) way to greater income.

Farming in Lofiscos has always, for as long as men can recall, been mainly directed at market sale. Wheat from the village has gone to Volos or Larissa year after year, and, since 1920 at least, the peasants have been able to buy town products as they wanted them. But in general they have preferred hoarding to spending. In Turkish times, to build a comfortable new house or to dress elaborately would simply have attracted the attention of some hungry tax or rent collector; hence there was a strong motive for concealing behind an unpretentious, indeed poor-seeming, exterior any wealth that might accumulate. This attitude apparently survived under Greek administration, even after the peasants of the village ceased to owe rents to a landlord and secured the whole harvest as their own. It still lingers: hence the shabby appearance of the village and its inhabitants.

If the first important break with old traditional patterns of

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1
Cherasia

[Hill Villages]

thus prevent, or at least make more difficult, any future guerrilla action based upon the upper village. 727 653

The result of these expenditures is clearly visible today. The village looks handsomer than ever before; the sound of flowing water resounds refreshingly beside the neatly paved square in the center of the village, and the bright new tile roofs of the village shine in the sun. Only the houses of Nea Eleftherohori rival the impressive outward appearance of Cherasia, and the public structures of Nea Eleftherohori are far inferior to the new ones of the Thessalian village.

Nor have governmental efforts ended there. An agricultural extension agent visits Cherasia once or twice a month – a far more frequent visitation than I found in any other village. He attempted to establish viticulture and fruit trees in the village; but the vines perished, and the fruit trees are still spindly saplings, not yet bearing anything. Finally, additional water works are in process of construction, on the strength of a loan from the Ministry of Interior, issued free of interest and repayable in installments, starting only after five years. When this is finished, there will be enough water to irrigate 50 stremmata (12½ acres) of bottom land, and thus open up a new range of agricultural possibilities for the village. 242 654 241 653 241 652

Certainly, no one can say that either money or skill has been stinted in trying to make the life of Cherasia tolerable for its inhabitants. Yet it was perfectly apparent in 1956 that the effort had been totally inadequate. The people of the village were sullen and suspicious, and felt no gratitude toward the government authorities who had done so much for them. The spirit of the village seemed almost the same as in 1947, with the difference that now the rightists were again on top, and the majority saw little hope for gaining even the nighttime control their party had enjoyed in 1947. In talking with one or two of the villagers I gained the impression that they perversely hoped the 178x 829 669 241 433

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

647 in the office concerned, in order to open a door for prompt and
662 courteous service by means of private communication. As a result, a comparatively small number of persons whose social position or family connections gave them an inside track enjoyed a great advantage in dealings with officialdom, while the poor and friendless could hardly regard the government machine as anything but an obstacle between themselves and their legal rights.

647 The idea that officials should be public servants rather than
661 public masters has never been firmly rooted in modern Greece. Byzantine and Turkish tradition, transformed according to Bavarian and then German models, shaped the civil service; and the fact that educated persons regard themselves as elevated far above their ignorant fellows has reinforced and perpetuated the old dichotomy between official and subject.

647 It must be said that the fault has not lain entirely with the
661 civil servants. The ordinary private citizen in Greece is prone
662 to look upon the government as his natural enemy – a group of men who are out to tax him and interfere with what he wants to do. It follows that almost any device to foil the agents of the government is considered legitimate – deceit, lying, bribery or just the exertion of "influence." Indeed, almost all Greeks entertain a kind of admiration for a man who is clever or bold or lucky enough to get around the law and the bureaucracy. Sense of duty to public authorities and laws has never been very strong in the country. More than most nations, the Greeks remain anarchists and individualists at heart; and rather high-handed methods, together with rigid punctiliousness in matters of red tape, is a natural and perhaps almost inevitable official response to such public attitudes.

647 A few segments of the bureaucracy, however, were making
663 serious efforts to serve the public. The most conspicuous of
177 these were the agricultural extension agents, whose contacts
654

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

with the farmers seemed to be genuinely friendly and highly effective in nearly all of the villages I visited. Here again, the American aid mission was entitled to a great deal of credit, for American advisers had made special efforts to reorganize the agricultural extension service on the model of the county agricultural agents in the United States. Many of the Greek agriculturalists had been sent to study in America before receiving their appointments. The public health agencies were another branch of the central administration in which a spirit of service had come to prevail; and there may have been others. In general, it was the older departments of the government, and particularly those concerned with money and taxes, in which the unpleasant but traditional attitudes were most firmly and universally established.

Another administrative change, and one which produced highly beneficial results in some localities at least, was the reinvigoration of local government. During the war and afterward, until 1951, local government officials were appointed through the Ministry of Interior. In 1951, however, local elections were organized, partly at least in response to repeated urging from Americans. As a result of these elections, village presidents and city mayors, together with advisory councils which assisted them in their administration, became more nearly independent of the central government, and commanded, presumably, more local confidence and support than was likely to be the case when the offices were filled by appointment from above.

The system did not always work smoothly – witness Cherasia; but my impression of the local officials whom I met in 1956 was on the whole a quite favorable one. Except in Cherasia, the village presidents seemed to have the full confidence of the villagers, and some of them were men of real intelligence and force of character. The president of Old Corinth would be

/13 cont./ 175
the minaret was replaced by the church steeple but the storks kept 621
the same nests for many generations. No one knows so well the history of the village as the storks do. Language and religious differences have done more harm to humanity than any good. Human beings of the same Creator because of language and religious differences kill each other and take turns in occupying the village.

PART II. The Family, The focus of Megali Vrisi Life.

121

A functional study of the family offers the best method of understanding the complex behavior patterns operative in this institution. Moreover it is by such /14/ analysis that the significance of the family group in a culture may be determined.

The Economic Function.

The economic function of the families in Megali Vrisi com- 241
munity is very important and needs some consideration. Farming 594
is the only means of livelihood and consumes a large part of the time of men, women and children. The general procedure for gaining a livelihood has been fixed throughout centuries. Due to climatic conditions the type of crops that can be raised is limited and even some of these are prohibitive. A crop that in the past 249
brought them the largest income was opium poppies, a narcotic plant, but the League of Nations has prohibited the sale of this product. Another product that has many times left the farmer to speculate about future prospects in price was tobacco. This crop unlike many other crops that have followed the evolutionary type of adjustment, has tended to follow independently its sharp ups and downs. Tobacco, unlike other crops, involves a great amount [435]
of skilled labor and it is a product that is handled by a few manu- [464]
facturing companies that tend to set the price as they please. Both of the above crops are prohibited. The government-subsidized 243
/15/ wheat has replaced everything. Regardless of the effect of 654
this policy on the land, rotation principles and social effects on the

/15 cont./
people. This policy of the government has created more problems for the future generations to solve than confront the people at the present. The whole family concentrates its attention on wheat raising since its market and price are definitely fixed. The harvest rush seasons has made obligatory the work of women and children. Even younger children share the burden by either bringing drinking water, caring for the infants of the family or by collecting the fallen wheat heads. It is hard to give the age at which children are expected to do their share. It all depends on how important the need of the children are.

243
[654]
[435]
857
243
464

Work of Wives.

Throughout the ages we find that women, besides doing the household work and raising children, share in the farm work. The women of Megali Vrisi more than any other women in the civilized world have become the real beasts of burden of village life. They have to get up early in the morning, prepare breakfast and prepare food for the whole day. As a matter of fact it is an accepted principle that women are selected as to their ability for working hard, bearing children, working at the loom and having the lips closed. These are the outstanding /16/ qualities that every woman is expected to have. Women in discussing or in gossiping about girls express their opinion as the outstanding quality of a girl, how tight her lips are, and the amount of time she spends at the loom. It is up to the parents to look up a girl for their son either within the village or from the neighboring villages. The son has to consent to what parents decide in this matter. In many instances it happens that the young man meets his wife for the first time on his wedding day. There are many reasons that usually lead the parents to decide for the marriage of their son.

562
[462]
[581]
[521]
[584]
562
581
596

a. Need for extra labor in the fields and at home.
b. Desire of the father and mother to have grandchildren so they can train them before they are too old.
c. The desire of the parents to have someone in the house to take care of them.

/54 cont./

According to his expense accounts he produced 85% of food stuffs and almost all of his seed. This shows how self sufficient the farmer of Megali Vrisi is and if he raised his vegetables too, there would be very few food articles bought from the market. 241 511

This representative farmer experiencing the prosperous year of 1934 was able besides spending for construction of a stable and a well, to deposit in the bank 2,000 drs. so as to have them during the lean years. [454]

Government Subsidy of Wheat Production

During the twentieth century the governments of various countries have introduced certain methods to regulate production, consumption and export. Some of these principles have had temporary successes and some others have failed. These governmental controls have in many instances created social changes and economic difficulties. The adoption of one crop enterprise and the creation of leisure seasons due to prohibition of certain other crops have made it difficult for the farmers to fit themselves in the new scheme of life. By subsidizing the wheat crop and fixing its market price the government has persuaded the farmers to plant only /55/ wheat and neglect rotation and other crops. 241 461 [654] [435]

Wheat being a seasonal crop provides ample leisure time for the farmer and thus ample spending periods. He is unable to find anything to occupy his time for something productive and useful in his occupation. Thus many people during the winter months leave the village for outside work. The girls in most cases find work in tobacco districts and the men in road construction. The conditions under which the girls and the men work are very poor and unhealthy, many returning home with poor health. It is a big problem with one crop farming to find something to absorb the leisure time of the farmers. [464] [499] [466]

The few experiments which were conducted in cooperation with the farmers of raising irrigated alfalfa and vetch and the introduction of dairy farming threw a hopeful light on what could be done to intensify agriculture so as to absorb all the available labor. [246] [234]

/63 cont./

Unfortunately the women lack even the simplest /64/ knowledge in nutrition and always prepare an unbalanced diet, although available food stuffs are enough to prepare a balanced diet. Thus the diet is poor. The local doctor always mentioned the fact that medicines will not cure the disease unless the people have a diet suitable to their work and conditions. 146

The question is not how to teach them a balanced diet and nutrition but how to use advantageously the existing food materials and to study the economic conditions so as to ascertain a feasible program for balancing their diet. It was one of the mistakes of the home demonstration center which started teaching them science and nutrition, instead of trying to find out what they had and how they were using it so as to improve their methods of utilizing it better. [654].

PART V. HEALTH.

Home Remedies. The people of Megali Vrisi can never forget what they learned from their parents regardless of education and new environment. Both the doctor and the local nurse would advise the women how to take care of the sick, but still one would find them trying their own methods before attempting the doctors or the nurses. Through experience the farmers found certain plants that have definite results for every disease and /65/ sickness. For a cold they drink boiled camomile. For stomach troubles they boil the roots of a plant and drink the juice. For boils they put on boiled onion, boiled linseed and fresh cow manure. 757 178

Regardless of whether they have the nurse and the doctor in their village, in case of sickness they will consult first the experienced neighbor and as a last resort they will consult the nurse or the doctor. [759]